

Message Text

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ACTION EA-10

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INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY SEOUL

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

USLO PEKING

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 16328

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, JA, CH, TW

SUBJECT: MIKI CABINET AND SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS

REF: TOKYO 15967

1. SUMMARY. BOTH PM MIKI AND FONMIN MIYAZAWA HAVE
REAFFIRMED GOJ'S COMMITMENT TO 1972 JOINT PRC-JAPAN COMMUNIQUE
AND CALLED FOR NEGOTIATION OF PEACE/FRIENDSHIP
TREATY WITH PEKING. MIKI ALSO CONSIDERING VISIT TO PEKING NEXT
SPRING. BOTH MIKI AND MIYAZAWA ALSO EXPRESSED HOPE FOR
RESUMPTION OF AIR TIE WITH TAIWAN. FONOFF CHINA DIVISION
ANTICIPATES NO CHANGE IN POLICY BUT VOICED SOME CONCERN
THAT IMPRUDENT TALK BY NEW LEADERS COULD TEND TO UNDERMINE
CONFIDENCE BUILT UP OVER PAST YEAR IN PEKING REGARDING
JAPAN'S FIDELITY TO JOINT COMMUNIQUE. STRENGTHENED
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POSITION OF FUKUDA AND OTHER PRO-TAIWAN LDP FIGURES

WILL ALSO CAUSE PRC TO SCRUTINIZE CAREFULLY NEW GOJ'S ACTIONS. WITH SUCH CAVEATS IN MIND, WE NEVERTHELESS EXPECT PRC-JAPAN RELATIONS TO CONTINUE ON COURSE. END SUMMARY.

2. BOTH PM MIKI AND FONMIN MIYAZAWA REAFFIRMED IN PRESS CONFERENCES JAPAN'S COMMITMENT TO 1972 JOINT COMMUNIQUE NORMALIZING REALTIONS WITH THE PRC. MIKI PROMISED "TO HONESTLY OBSERVE THE SPIRIT AND PRINCIPLES OF THE COMMUNIQUE AND ACCELERATE CONCLUSIONS OF A PEACE-FRIENDSHIP TREATY." MIKI SAID JAPAN HAD "DRAWN A BASIC LINE FOR ITS CHINA POLICY IN JOINT COMMUNIQUE AND RELATIONS WITH TAIWAN WOULD BE MAINTAINED THROUGH PRIVATE AGREEMENTS." ALTHOUGH BOTH EXPRESSED HOPE FOR EARLY RESTORATION OF AIR TIE WITH TAIWAN, MIYAZAWA WAS SOMEWHAT MORE FORTHCOMING ON RELATIONS WITH TAIWAN. HE SPOKE OF READRESSING "AFTEREFFECTS" OF NORMALIZATION WITH "SOME OTHER COUNTRIES, FOR INSTANCE TAIWAN" (EMBARRASSED AT MIYAZAWA'S CALLING TAIWAN A COUNTRY, FONOFF ISSUED CORRECTION TO PRESS WHICH READ "SOME OTHER COUNTRIES AND AREAS"). BOTH CHOU EN-LAI, IN A BRIEF CONGRATULATORY MESSAGE, AND MIKI, IN RESPONSE, CALLED FOR CONTINUED DEVELOPMENT OF FRIENDLY RELATIONS.

3. FONOFF CHINA DIV DEPUTY DIRECTOR OGURA EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE TO US THAT THERE WOULD BE NO CHANGE IN JAPAN'S CHINA POLICY AS RESULT OF NEW CABINET. AS AN EARLY ADVOCATE OF NORMALIZATION WITH PRC, MIKI'S ATTITUDE IS WELL KNOWN. OGURA SAID MIYAZAWA HAD CONCENTRATED ON DOMESTIC ECONOMIC AFFAIRS AND RELATIONS WITH OTHER ADVANCED INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES AND HAD TAKEN LITTLE INTEREST IN RELATIONS WITH REST OF ASIA. NEVERTHELESS, HE EXPRESSED BELIEF THAT MIYAZAWA WOULD NOT DEVIATE FROM POLICY ESTABLISHED AT TIME OF NORMALIZATION.

4. OGURA OUTLINED THREE POINT AGENDA IN SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS FOR NEXT SIX MONTHS: A) NEGOTIATION OF PEACE/FRIENDSHIP TREATY WITH PEKING; B) RESTORATION OF AIR TIE WITH TAIWAN; C) VISIT BY MIKI TO PRC. WITHOUT ELABORATING, OGURA IMPLIED THAT MIKI VISIT HAS ALREADY BEEN MATTER OF DISCUSSION.

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5. OGURA DESCRIBED PAST YEAR OF NEGOTIATING WITH PEKING AS PROCESS OF EDUCATING PEKING IN FAITHFULNESS OF JAPAN TO SPIRIT AND PRINCIPLES OF 1972 JOINT COMMUNIQUE, EVEN AFTER ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS PEKING WAS WARY OF JAPAN'S INTENTIONS REGARDING TAIWAN ON TWO POINTS: A) PEKING THOUGHT JAPAN FAVORED INDEPENDENCE FOR TAIWAN, AND B) PEKING BELIEVED JAPAN CONTROLLED

TAIWAN'S GOVERNMENT. POINT (B) WAS DISPROVED WHEN TAIWAN SEVERED AIR TIES. NEGOTIATING WITH GOJ ON CIVIL AIR AGREEMENT DISPELLED PRC'S SUSPICIONS ON BOTH COUNTS AND PEKING GAINED CONFIDENCE IN JAPAN'S FIDELITY TO JOINT COMMUNIQUE. RELATIVE EASE WITH WHICH SHIPPING TALKS WERE CONCLUDED IS BEST EVIDENCE OF PEKING'S CONFIDENCE IN ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH JAPAN.

6. BUT, OGURA IS CONCERNED THAT JAPAN'S NEW LEADERS WILL TEND TO TAKE PEKING'S CONFIDENCE FOR GRANTED AND CONTENTEND THAT PEKING IS NO LONGER WORRIED BY JAPAN'S RELATIONS WITH TAIWAN. FAR FROM IT, ACCORDING TO OGURA, SHOULD GOJ MOVE TOO ASSERTIVELY TO IMPROVE TIES WITH TAIWAN, CONFIDENCE BUILT WITH PEKING DURING PAST YEAR COULD EASILY BE UNDERMINED. WITHOUT SAYING SO BUT OBVIOUSLY REFERRING TO MIYAZAWA'S SLIP ON TAIWAN'S STATUS AS "COUNTRY," OGURA SAID IMPRUDENT TALK BY NEW GOJ LEADERS WOULD LEAD PEKING TO QUESTION ONCE AGAIN LOYALTY AND DURABILITY OF JAPAN TO PRINCIPLES OF 1972 COMMUNIQUE.

7. COMMENT: WE CONCLUDE THAT THERE WILL BE NO BASIC CHANGE IN JAPAN'S CHINA POLICY AS RESULT OF MIKI CABINET, ALTHOUGH EFFORTS TO FIND SOLUTION TO AIR LINK WITH TAIWAN WILL PROBABLY BE STEPPED UP. HOWEVER, WITH FUKUDA'S POSITION GREATLY STRENGTHENED IN NEW CABINET AND WITH PRO-TAIWAN ELDERS HIROKICHI NADAO, AS LDP EXECUTIVE BOARD CHAIRMAN, AND RAIZO MATSUNO, AS POLICY BOARD CHAIRMAN, IN TOP PARTY SPOTS, PEKING WILL, UNDOUBTEDLY, CAREFULLY SCRUTINIZE NEW GOJ'S WORDS AND DEEDS. ALTHOUGH MIYAZAWA HAS BEEN CAUTIOUS ABOUT TRAVEL PLANS, A VISIT BY MIKI TO THE PRC PRIOR TO THE LOCAL ELECTIONS IN APRIL WOULD BE POPULAR IN JAPAN AND MIGHT WELL BE TIMED TO COINCIDE WITH SIGNING OF PEACE FRIENDSHIP-TREATY WHICH WE EXPECT COULD

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BE READY BY SPRING.
HODGSON

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